

# Socialist Worker

For Workers Power and International Socialism

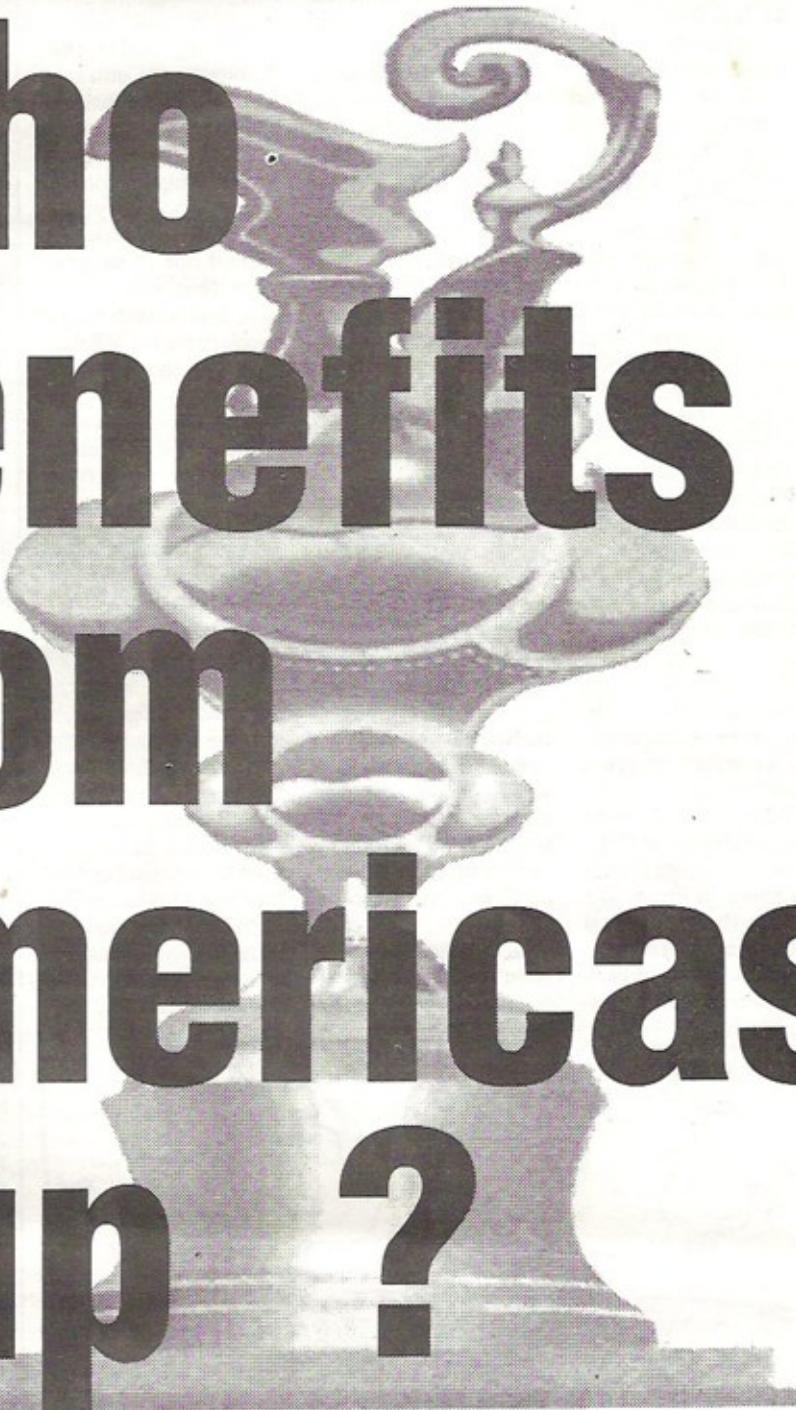
inside

The struggle for  
Maori sovereignty  
– a socialist view

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\$1

# Who benefits from Americas Cup?



Rich play – We pay

# We're not all in same boat

WHY ALL the hype about the Americas Cup?

Firstly big business and the government want to hammer us with the "team" message. We've all got to get behind "team NZ", they're "our boys". Never mind that Team NZ is a business, sponsored by big businesses who are in it for the money.

Never mind that those sponsors are prepared to squander millions on the Americas Cup while screwing their workers to the wall back home.

Most people like to back the home team against another, or the national sportsmen and women against the competition. But no way was "Team NZ" a national sports team.

The Americas Cup boats were crewed with the best yachtsmen and women money could buy.

There's also a common feeling of "sticking it to those Yanks" who had bullied NZ over things like the anti-nuclear policy.

Bolger, Birch and their big-business mates want to exploit these feelings to make us all feel part of the NZ "team", so workers will cop even more sacrifices to make NZ business more internationally competitive. They want us to feel "all in the same boat" - bosses and workers together - competing with the world. This is a load of rubbish.

Carter Holt Harvey workers have just increased their company's profits by 36.9 percent. But their bosses have refused to pay them an increase of 5 percent. The heads of the CHH "team" say they want even more cuts to make the company more profitable.

Big business here, like big business anywhere, is only inter-

ested in profits. They see NZ workers as a means of making profits, and if they can increase profits by going overseas to exploit even cheaper labour they will quickly do so.

And they don't put big money into events like the Americas Cup for the "the nation".

As the boss of the Kis Corporation, who headed the French "Kiss Syndicate" in the 1988 put it: "I am a businessman first and last. I look for profits, success, expansion. The Americas Cup is no longer merely a sporting event. Today it is an investment opportunity."

The Americas Cup is the most exclusive competition among the rich and powerful that history has ever seen.

Left-wing Australian writer Frank Hardy described it as "The new rich racing the old rich, sponsored by the multinational rich, and boring the arse off the poor."

An Australian sports writer described the races as being "as exciting as watching grass grow".

When the cup went to Australia in the 1980s there was a huge spending spree in Fremantle and Perth. The federal and state governments threw in \$A100 million between them. Every-

thing was re-paved, painted and shone. New hotels and facilities sprung up. For a few short weeks some of Australia made a killing. For others it was not so hot.

Working class families found themselves unable to pay the rocketing rents as landlords jacked up prices to milk the wealthy visitors. People were thrown out of homes.

Many moved to the east coast to get jobs and affordable accommodation.

Rich Australians like Alan Bond threw their ill-gotten wealth around like water. Bond spent \$A30 million on a luxury cruiser so he could watch the races. Hotels had rooms let for \$A2,000 a night and more.

But when the Aussie Plumbers Union put in a claim for a \$A70 wage rise to restore living standards the newspapers went wild. The country couldn't afford it, said the press.

The media here are telling us about the great "benefits" that will come from the cup, and there will be for some - like the travel, accommodation, tourism and sex industries, along with some construction firms. But for most it will be another financial burden as

rates and tax money go into providing for the filthy rich who will swarm into Auckland for the few weeks of Americas Cup competition.

No doubt Bolger, Birch and Co hope that the bread and circus of the Americas Cup will take workers minds off the daily problems of surviving under the Employment Contracts Act and declining health, education and welfare services. But reality is much stronger than pie in the sky.

Bolger quickly backed out of suggestions that we should have a national holiday to celebrate the NZ victory. And the euphoria at home will quickly turn to anger as workers match up the wealth being squandered on a boat race with the continual big business calls for more wage "restraint".

The best way to mark the Americas Cup result is for workers to get behind their own team and get stuck into the bosses team.

Workers should say "if these bastards have got all that money to spend on a boat race then they can afford to feed our kids".

Make them pay for some reality like higher wages, better health, education and welfare.

## Bolger's Decent Society



In the 1990 election campaign, Jim Bolger pledged to create a "decent society". Let's see how his promise has translated into reality.

URBAN RENEWAL in Christchurch is hitting the poor, says a local community board. Many people living in boarding houses and bed-sits are being thrown out on the streets because their accommodation is being demolished in favour of inner-city apartments for the wealthy.

In the past 6 months four boarding houses have disappeared from Latimer Square, leaving 32 people homeless. More flats and houses were being pulled down in Worcester, Armagh and Hereford streets to make way for new, high cost housing.

MEDICAL SPECIALISTS at Whangarei hospital are unable to meet the demands of patients referred to them from doctors around Northland.

The Regional Health Authority only funds 4 specialists for the whole region because it has no money for more. Northland Health group manager Paula Daye said the physicians have been working more than 60 hours a week.

The RHA has written to all GPs in the region apologising for extra long waiting times.

THE GOVERNMENT has now spent \$570 million on the ANZAC frigates, which (at last estimate) will cost a total of \$1243 million, (having gone up from the 1988 estimate of \$931 million when the Labour Government signed the contact). One can only wonder how many hospital doctors this would fund?

INCOME SUPPORT Services recently hassled a Te Puke man to repay two cents it had overpaid him. They were satisfied when he cleared the debt with a 2 cent coin - which is no longer legal tender.



# Nats plan further attacks—another budget rip-off!

## Changes in SWO

**SOCIALIST WORKER** is being co-edited by Barry Lee (Auckland) and Brian Roper (Dunedin) until the end of the year, when a permanent editor to be based in Auckland will be appointed.

Grant Morgan, who for seven years edited the *People's Voice*, *Workers Voice* and the first three issues of *Socialist Worker*, has taken on new duties in the Socialist Workers Organisation.

Grant is now a full-time party organiser in Auckland and, along with Ross Crook and Barry Lee, has been elected to the newly created SWO national executive.

The job of the national executive is to co-ordinate the activities of the national committee, centralise the SWO's nationwide participation in the day-to-day struggle and keep the party membership fully informed of all important developments.

## What are Labour and the Alliance doing to fight the Nats?

**LABOUR LEADER** Helen Clarke recently argued that "Mr Birch is trumpeting his government's cynical plans for tax cuts which will be announced and timed according to the National Government's own political and electoral needs".

She further claimed that "Whatever [Birch] might partly give back in the form of tax cuts and Family support payments, he and his Government have already taken away in the form of Government charges and attacks on essential social services".

Clarke is right of course - although she conveniently forgets to tell us that it was the fourth Labour Government which introduced the biggest tax cuts for the rich in the 1988 Budget.

The problem is that neither her nor Labour

have matched these fine words with any practical action. Even inside parliament itself Labour has done everything it can to prop up this hated government. It has provided the Speaker which increased the Nats majority. And it has consistently failed to push for an earlier election - despite the Nats slender parliamentary majority and the fact that labour and the Alliance have consistently polled over 50% ever since the 1993 election.

A recent N.B.R Consultus poll clearly showed that a majority supports Labour and the Alliance and opposes National. Under the headline - "Electorate turns sharp left to Alliance/Labour" it showed that 58% supported a Labour and Alliance coalition.

If Labour and the Alliance really cared about their working class sup-

porters then they would push for an early election, stop propping the Nats up inside parliament, and provide active support for the struggles of workers, students and Maori against National's policies outside parliament.

The failure of Labour and the Alliance to seriously fight the Nats either inside or outside parliament highlights the fact that it is revolutionaries who are the best fighters for reform. The SWO is very small but we are growing in numbers and influence. We involve ourselves in the day-to-day struggles of workers and the oppressed. But we also argue that real change will never come through parliament.

We want more than a watered down re-run of the fourth Labour Government.

**We need a real socialist alternative.**

ON JUNE 1 the National Government will release the latest instalment in its 'take from the poor, give to the rich' programme.

FINANCE MINISTER Bill Birch will deliver a budget that will cut taxes for the rich and benefits for the poor. There will be some minor spending increases on education and health which will be presented by the Nats and the capitalist media as major initiatives. This smokescreen can not disguise the reality that the health system is in crisis because it remains grossly underfunded. Nor will it do anything to improve the resources available to our schools and universities. It will not do anything about the housing crisis caused by the governments introduction of market rents for state housing. Nor will it compensate beneficiaries, students or superannuitants for increases in the cost of living.

### Tax cuts for the rich

The Nats real agenda is clear for all to see. They want to reduce taxes on high income earners and corporate profits by cutting government spending on health, housing, education and welfare. National is the party of the rich governing in the interests of the rich - it doesn't give a stuff about us.

In his budget speech Birch will claim that tax cuts benefit everyone.

They mean more money, in the pockets of 'middle New Zealanders', more incentives for business to invest in growth, and more incentives for beneficiaries to get off benefits and find employment.

### More jobs.

Second, the Nats claim that workers will "work more due to the higher rate of take-home pay they can earn".

Third, Birch claims that "lower tax rates reduce welfare costs by making it more worthwhile for people to move off benefits and into work".

Even though the rich will get richer, the poor will also benefit through producing growth, reducing unemployment, and improving job security.

This is all bullshit. First, there is no evidence that tax cuts stimulate growth. In fact growth rates were higher in N.Z.

during the 1950s and 1960s when tax rates on the rich were much higher than they are now. Second, most workers are actually paying more tax now than before, and on real wages that are lower, so they hardly have an incentive to work harder!

Third there is no evidence of any trickle down. The 'trickle' is all one way - from us to them.

### Democracy for the Rich

In a recent poll, only 6% of those polled supported the Nats planned tax cuts. 51% thought that the Nats should use the budget surplus to increase spending on health education and welfare.

Despite this, the government is to introduce tax cuts in the Budget on June 1. The overwhelming majority oppose policies which will benefit the rich but no one else.

This shows what a sham parliamentary 'democracy' is. It provides the majority with no effective control over government policy at all. What we have is democracy for the rich.

### Build the fightback

We have no alternative but to fight back against these attacks. Workers must organise in unions to fight falling real wages. Beneficiaries must protest against further attacks on benefits. Students must fight rising fees, for a living allowance, and against a life times debt. State housing tenants must oppose market rents and the continued sale of state houses. It is only through building these actions on the ground that we are going to be able to force the Nats to back down.

Central to building the fight back against the Nats, is clearly identifying the links between these struggles. The Nats are attacking us because they represent the interests of the ruling class - the capitalists who own and control the means of production. They know where their wealth comes from - our labour. We must discover and harness the source of our power - united action. Together we can win, divided we will fall.

# inside the system

## In whose interest?

SUPPORTERS of privatisation might like to have a look at England to see just who is benefiting from the selling off of public assets. A recent report in the *Observer* newspaper found that 12 men had become millionaires, and that the average director of privatised water, gas and electricity firms had netted \$830 000, as a result of privatising utilities.

What is more, over 40 directors avoided having to pay tax on their profits by switching share options into the names of their wives.

It's interesting to recall that in February New Zealand's own Business Roundtable came out with a report recommending that water and electricity services should be completely privatised. Whose interests would that serve?

## THINGS THEY SAY

**"...it is more to do with human nature than it is to do with Government policy."**

Minister of Health Jenny Shipley on the poor treatment of children in New Zealand.

**"...I think it has got a hell of a lot going for it and I am sad it is not as fashionable as it used to be."**

Jenny Shipley on the traditional nuclear family.

**"I decided about Anzac Day the occupiers would have to be forcibly removed."**

Wanganui Mayor Chas Poynter on the Maori occupants of Moutoa Gardens.

**"Don't jump up and down like a golliwog."**

White South African Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister Pik Botha to black unionist Marcel Golding.

**"With the strong economic recovery, the corporate profit share has returned to the record levels of the mid-1980s"**

Australian Federal Treasurer Ralph Willis.

**"It's their boat, their gear, and all they have to do is pay us for quota. The only control we have is to assist them getting visas."**

Ngai Tahu owned Takaroa Fisheries Ltd kaiwhakahaere (chairman) Charles Crofts on a plan to crew a chartered vessel with low paid Indonesian fisherman.

## Justifying greed

TELECOM HAS sought to justify its exorbitant \$620.2 million profit for the year ending March by pointing out what a good "corporate citizen" it is. As evidence of this it is offering a half-price "budget link" line rental deal to 20 000 households.

Those eligible to receive this charity must have been attending a Family Budgeting Services centre for at least six weeks and must continue to receive budgetary advice for that period.

However, the deal isn't as generous as it looks. For a start, it only lasts for six months, after which time the household (now firmly dependant on the phone) must pay full rental. As well, there is a toll bar placed on the phone - no cheap toll calls allowed!

As well, the New Zealand Federation of Family Budgeting Services has pointed out that it doesn't have 20 000 people without phones on its lists now, let alone people who have been seen for six weeks. Those who cannot already afford a phone are so stretched that they cannot afford food, let alone even half the monthly line rental for a phone (about \$20 a month).

It looks like Telecom's offer (part of the estimated \$20 million it will spend on public relations this year) is about as much use as a cellphone in Fiordland.

## It's a sick system

THE NORTHERN RHA has awarded a \$1 million per year "fertility services contract" to the privately owned Fertility Associates Ltd. Previously the money went to the only public fertility unit in the North Island at National Women's Hospital.

As a result the public clinic is to close its doors. The clinic had been built up over a period of 12 years with taxpayers money, employed 19 staff, and saw about 460 couples a year.

Of course, if it wasn't working then you might see why it got closed. But out of the 23 IVF clinics in Australia and New Zealand the National Women's clinic ranked fourth in terms of pregnancy success rate.

## What's the real reason?

A BOOK just released by Statistics New Zealand, entitled *Business Activity 1994*, shows that in the first 4 years of this decade the number of part-time employees rose almost 20% while the number of full time workers fell by 5%.

Females made up the majority of part-time employees while males made up the majority of full time workers.

This shows that more women are entering the workforce as casual, often low paid labour. The report explains this away as "a combination of more flexible arrangements on behalf of employers, increased availability of child care, lifestyle preferences and changes in technology."

What about falling real wages, the E.C.A. and less secure working hours and conditions? Guess the real reasons just aren't as pretty.

## what socialists

### say about...

## How they maintain their rule

WE LIVE IN a society in which a tiny proportion of the population controls the majority of the resources and riches produced by the vast majority. This is the basis of class divisions under capitalism. But, if the system serves only to benefit a small minority at the top, why do the majority of people accept it, or at least, not overthrow it?

The fact is that all ruling classes maintain their rule by a mixture of force and persuasion. These two aspects of ruling-class power always complement and reinforce each other. In the middle ages the feudal lord had his soldiers to ensure the peasants performed their work and paid their taxes and the Catholic church to justify the feudal system as God's order. If the peasants revolted the church was on hand to condemn this as sinful. If the church was challenged, the soldiers were on hand to burn the challengers as heretics.

### An Iron Fist..

Today the ruling class has the police (and ultimately the army) to break pickets and arrest demonstrators, and the mass media to portray pickets and demonstrations as extremist threats to "stable law and order". The more successful the media propaganda, the easier it is for the police to smash protests. Equally, every time the police successfully crush a picket line this reinforces the central message of ruling-class ideology, that working people are powerless.

The existence of these two methods of control grows out of the class nature of society. Because classes have fundamentally different interests no ruling class can ever rule purely by consent. On the other hand, because the exploited and the "have-nots" always vastly outnumber the exploiters and the "haves" no ruling class can survive purely by force. There is always some combination of the iron fist in the velvet glove - propaganda and consent mixed with force and coercion.

What can and does change is the balance between repression and ideological control.

### ...In A Velvet Glove.

What is distinctive about the ruling class' control in advanced capitalism is that it cannot rely solely on coercion and manipulation of the education and mass media to maintain it. The size, strength, and organisation of the working class is too great, and the daily clash of interests in the workplace too all-pervasive, for straightforward capitalist force or propaganda to succeed. Propaganda may have some power, but it is limited by the fact that it cannot get people to believe things that run directly counter to their own experience.

Consequently, crucial to maintaining the capitalist system are institutions that are based not in the ruling class but in the working class, and which are seen as expressing working class interests and opposition to the system's worst excesses. Nevertheless, they continue to accept and purvey the basic premises of the system and thus integrate the working class within it.

In New Zealand this role is played by the trade union bureaucracy, the Alliance party, and agencies such as Te Puni Kokiri. These all act to give the working class a "stake" in the system, and seek to reform the system to the benefit of the working class.

As well as direct confrontation the ruling class seeks to reach an accommodation with leaders of these organisations so that they will in turn sell the deal to their rank and file and impose the necessary discipline to make it stick. This was the approach of the attempted "compact" between the CTU and the Fourth Labour Government in the late 1980's.

When one strategy fails, the ruling class switches its allegiance to the other.

■ JOHN MOLYNEUX

# Government "reform" targets university councils

by ANDREW COOPER

THE RECENT student occupation of the Otago University Registry has once again brought the role of the university councils into focus.

New Zealand universities are, in theory at least, administered by councils including both elected and appointed officials.

Otago University Council, a typical example, consists of the following: The Vice-Chancellor (overall head), 3 Chancellors, the Registrar (chief administrator), 4 appointed by the Minister of Education (Lockwood Smith), 3 elected by academic staff, 1 elected by general staff, 2 appointed by the students association, 2 appointed after consultation

with the central organisations of employers and workers, the Mayor, 1 appointed on the recommendation of the Vice-Chancellor, 2 chosen by existing council members, and 3 elected by the Court of Convocation [whatever that is!].

Obviously students and staff have a token presence on the councils.

The reality is that the councils act as a rubber stamp for the decisions taken by the top few people – the Vice-Chancellor and Chancellors. But the councils remain the only forum through which students can express their concerns to the university.

Unfortunately, councils have generally ignored student concerns, rejected requests for any real coop-

eration against government attacks, and refused to take firm action against the cutbacks.

But even the current set-up will seem attractive if Lockwood Smith gets his way.

Last month, the Education Minister promised to introduce legislation "reforming" the university councils by the new year.

Smith wants to get rid of the existing structure and appoint all councillors directly himself. He openly states that most of the councillors would be business people, whose influence would no doubt make universities even more "efficient" and even more elitist.

The reforms will eliminate nearly all existing positions on the councils. However,

the few at the top – the Vice-Chancellors and their immediate subordinates, will keep their positions and privileges. Smith has said he won't react to the University Vice-Chancellors Committee's public claims of under-funding because "privately there was some support for administrative and funding reform."

"If you ignore the outbursts like the vice-chancellors committee annual report, I am convinced they are keen to make progress," Smith said

After all the cuts and reforms, the Government now wants to introduce a "tertiary capital charge," a charge on university buildings which will mean an average \$1,000 fee rise for every student.

The recent Otago students occupation forced their council to publicly oppose government attacks on education.

If university councils are serious about their claims to represent student opinion, they could start by following the example of Waikato University's Vice-

Chancellor Bryan Gould, who recently condemned government policies in far more strident terms than anything Otago's V-C Fogelberg ever has.

We have to defend the existing council structure because it is far more open to student and staff pressure than the reforms proposed by Lockwood Smith. But we have to go further than that and fight for truly democratic and accountable university administrations, that are really responsible to their students and staff. University staff are being hit by funding cuts too. Many have had no wage rise for 5 years. They are potential allies of students in the struggle against user pays education.

As the next week of action comes around in late July, student activists need to argue for more mass occupations and build staff-student unity towards joint strike action aimed at forcing the councils to make a stand and defeating the government's user pays education.

## STUDENTS PLAN MORE ACTIONS

"WE NEED to keep the momentum going with more marches, occupations and protest actions."

That's the verdict of student activists from around the country in the aftermath of May 3rd's National Day of Action.

The successful occupation of the Otago University Registry in Dunedin has inspired a group of Auckland students to push for a similar action at the Auckland campus.

"Marches like this are great" said one participant of the 3000 strong demonstration in Queen St, "but we need to occupy if we want to put sustained pressure on the Universities and the Government."

Following the march the Socialist Worker Student Club showed a video of a Registry occupation at the Australian National University in Canberra in November 1994. This led to a lively discussion on ways of organising an occupation at Auckland.

A leaflet and poster was produced, and distributed around the campus next

day proclaiming "occupation is liberation: let's take our campus".

The activists plan to build support for occupations amongst fellow students and to raise the issue at Education Action Group meetings in term two.

In Palmerston North, activists from Massey University see the 400 strong May 3 protest as a starting point in building up a movement against the fee increases and government cutbacks.

Protests are planned for the week of 22-26 May, this time targeting Massey University's appalling lack of child care facilities.

Paul Williams, President of the New Zealand University Students Association, says that the May 3 actions show that in contrast to Lockwood Smith's claims, the Government's fee increases are far from a "dead issue".

"Nationwide the level of participation was excellent" he said.

"The positive outcome

of the Dunedin occupation is a great success for the national campaign."

NZUSA is planning more national protest action for budget day June 1.



Auckland students on the streets, May 3 day of action

## SOUTH AFRICA: "Widespread political confusion"

ONE YEAR since coming to office, South Africa's ANC government is failing people's expectations.

Money has been found to build an Olympic stadium in Johannesburg, but only 800 of the 200,000 new homes promised in the first year of African National Congress government have been built.

Three percent of government spending goes on housing, and 7.2 percent on defence.

People's lives are dominated by poverty, malnutri-

tion and lack of housing, education and healthcare.

Nelson Mandela has begun attacking those who are fighting for what the ANC promised.

In an interview on the first anniversary of his election, he asked people to be patient and wait "months, or even five years" to see improvements in their lives.

He also said: "I told the army, if you have to use live bullets, use them. I am prepared to use firmness wherever people commit

criminal acts in the course of their protests."

In the townships the government is trying to undermine a mass rent boycott.

There are proposals to abolish the union closed shop and give employers the right to lock workers out.

Picket lines at the 6 month long Spar strike have been attacked by police with dogs and whips.

Workers who struck at Cape Gas are being framed on murder charges.

Two of the students and workers who fought the racist administration at Wits University in Johannesburg are facing charges that could bring jail sentences of 8 years.

Teachers were offered a 1.4 percent wage rise when inflation is 11 percent. However the threat of strike action saw the offer rise to 5 percent.

Big business like General Motors and mining giants Anglo-American and Glengold are continuing to make massive profits.

After only a year in office the ANC is in political crisis and there is widespread political confusion among the population.

There is friction between the main union federation COSATU and the government. The ANC was heavily criticised at a recent COSATU conference for attacking illegal immigrants, not the bosses.

The ANC promised so much and has delivered so little, and this has led people to question everything, and a climate of unease and uncertainty.

In these circumstances, revolutionary socialist politics are gaining a wider and wider hearing. The International Socialist Organisation membership has sprung from 30 to 500.

*SOCIALIST WORKER  
BRITAIN*

## STRIKES IN SWEDEN

OVER 250,000 engineering workers in Sweden are fighting for higher wages.

The workers launched an overtime ban earlier this month that will seriously disrupt wages.

Sweden's Labour Government is out to make workers pay the price of the country's economic mess. Unemployment, sickness and other benefits have been cut and the government wants to hold wages below the rate of inflation.

The Swedish government is trying to divert anger against its policies by inflaming racism and anti-immigrant feeling. It slashed funding to refugee groups and plans to deport 5,000 Bosnian refugees. The deportations have been postponed following a protest campaign.

## AMERICAN WORKERS FIGHT FOR RIGHTS

4000 AMERICAN workers have been on strike or locked out for over a year. They are fighting for elementary rights such as safe workplaces, the right to speak freely on the job, the right to a living wage.

Early next month a lockout of workers at A. E. Staley Manufacturing in Illinois will mark its second year. At the same time strikes by Bridgestone/Firestone and Caterpillar workers will enter their second year.

As these struggles continue, big business and politicians are trying to destroy the social "safety net" that workers have fought for over the years. They want to relax safety laws and some in Congress are talking about scrapping the minimum wage.

Students at one Illinois school walked out of their classes when a representative of Caterpillar Inc. appeared at a school-sponsored "Career Day".

Leading the walkout were children of United Auto Workers Union members who have been on strike. Others walked out in solidarity.

They refused to return to class despite threats of extra homework and detention.

## HUNGER AMID PLENTY

CALIFORNIA (the state which just hosted the Americas Cup) produces more food, in greater variety, than any other state in America. But one in every six Californians endure chronic hunger. 5 million people, 2 million of them children, are poorly fed! And the US government is making big cuts to welfare spending — cuts that will hit the poor and hungry even more.

## MAY DAY IN MEXICO

FOR THE first time in 72 years the official May Day parade in Mexico was cancelled, but more than 100,000 people marched through Mexico City's main street chanting anti-government slogans.

The march was led by angry workers laid off from the public bus service that had recently been closed by the government. Teachers and students marched alongside workers from the electrical, oil and nuclear power industries.

Mexico's traditional May Day parades have been displays of support for the government.

## AUSTRALIA

### RICH RICHER POOR POORER

THE RICH have got richer and the poor poorer under the Labour Government in Australia.

A recent study by the welfare agency Oz Child found that 400,000 or a tenth of Australian children live below the official poverty line. One in 6 children live in a family where no-one has a job and 20,000 children under 15 are homeless.

The average annual income of the poorest 1 percent of neighbourhoods fell by \$A8,000 in real terms between 1976 and 1991. In the same period, the average income of the richest 1 percent of neighbourhoods increased by \$20,000.

### TEACHERS STRIKE AGAINST CUTS

TEACHERS IN Victoria are planning a state-wide strike on June 15 as part of their on-going campaign against increased workloads and class sizes.

Teachers are angry at the continuing cuts to education which have seen 9,000 teachers jobs lost since 1992.

On May 3 the Victoria teachers struck for the day and 5,000 attended a mass meeting in Melbourne which rejected an "offer" of wage rises tied to performance reviews and more unpaid work.

During the June 13 strike the teachers will determine what further action they will take.

SOUTH AUSTRALIAN teachers are threatening to strike on the eve of the state government's budget announcement. The South Australian government plans to cut education spending by \$A \$18 million in the current financial year.

The strike by 15,000 teachers will also support efforts by the South Australian Institute of Teachers to win a federal teaching award. It follows a two-week campaign of rolling stoppages across the state in March.

# "Comprehensive evidence of violence"

NATURALLY, I was extremely distressed and disappointed by the decision of the Court of Appeal to dismiss my case.

The very clear message is that, although the police failed to protect my children and myself despite my having laid numerous complaints, it was wrong for me to protect my family.

I wonder, does this mean that women and children must die at the hands of violent, abusive men before help is forthcoming?

I read, with interest, the cases of men who have murdered their partners in the 11 October 1994 issue of *Workers Voice* and deduce that the defence of provocation works incredibly well for men.

It seems these men, as well as others I have read about, successfully used the defence, despite the fact that the issues seemed to have been isolated incidents.

It has been said that there was no evidence presented at trial to support my claims of abuse and that I could have left or called the police. The following are quoted from the judgement handed down by the Court of Appeal:

\* "On a number of occasions she was forced to flee from the home for the protection of a women's refuge."

\* "She obtained non-molestation and non-violence orders but there was failure to serve them. She laid complaints with the police but no action was taken. A complaint about the abuse of her daughter was met with similar inaction."

\* "Dr Ding's evidence of the syndrome [battered women's syndrome] was confirmed, without elaboration, by Mrs Oakes general medical practitioner."

\* "From both crown and defence witnesses the jury learnt in very full detail of the violence that Mrs Oakes had endured."

Hopefully, the general public will realise from these quotes that there was indeed comprehensive evidence of the violence my children and I were subjected to.

I am determined to explore every option which

may be available to me. A submission, on my behalf, has been sent to the National Parole Board by Victims Advocates.

My lawyers are currently preparing to apply for legal aid in order to approach the Privy Council.

We also intend to petition the governor general to ask for a re-trial or a re-hearing in the Court of Appeal.

Various groups including Women for Justice and Victims Advocates are fighting for changes to be made in the law, recognising the reality of the danger a battered woman faces.

I thank you for your ongoing support, the coverage you have given my case and your involvement in raising funds for my computer.

I am overwhelmed by the support I have received from the public, several support groups have been set up throughout the country, many people have written to me and/or donated to the computer or personal fund. I would like to extend my heartfelt thanks to them and of course to my dear friends and family, without whose love and support I couldn't have made it. I love you all.

For anyone who wishes to write to me, my address is Christchurch Women's Prison, Private Bag 4702, Christchurch

GAY OAKES  
Christchurch

## letters to the editor

Agree? Disagree? Send a letter to: Socialist Worker, PO Box 8851, Auckland. Keep them brief, please.



## Why Wartime Meatworkers Were Released

IN YOUR last issue you published an otherwise excellent article that must be corrected. In the working-class history article on freezing workers wartime struggles, it states:

"However, the F.O.L. well aware of its members growing resentment at the reduction in their living standards while others were minting quick fortunes, informed the government that if the imprisoned men were not released forthwith a general stoppage of work would be called."

Auckland watersiders had refused to load scab meat. This was primarily our fight but that which followed was the concern of all New Zealand. Why were we at war with Hitler?

The trial of the men was held in Auckland Town Hall before a magistrate named Luxford, well remembered for his term of office in Samoa and the massacre of Tamasese and other Samoans. When the verdict was announced the reaction of Auckland watersiders was to strike there and then.

The Auckland Trades Council was to hold its monthly meeting on Thursday.

We held a stop work meeting at which I moved the following:

"That if all jailed freezing workers were not released by the weekend we urge the Auckland Trades Council to call a general strike on Monday." This was carried unanimously.

You may well know that the Auckland Trades Council was then controlled by militant workers fighting for a socialist society. Men like Alec Drennan, Johnny Mitchell, Roy Stanley, Laurie Mathews. A vintage crop indeed.

The Government was advised next morning and all were released before Monday.

They were released because Fraser, Semple and the rest of the Labour Party renegades that were the government knew it was no idle threat.

Can anyone imagine Walsh, Baxter and Co. of the F.O.L. adopting such a course? No more than would the CTU (Collaborating Trade Unions) today.

However the wheel of resistance is starting to turn and history teaches us that once again we will have a trade union movement that has the honesty and guts of those that gave the ultimatum to that renegade Labour Government.

The rejection of election pledges and complete rejection of socialism began with Fraser. It was resurrected in 1984 by that noble knight of the realm, sir Roger Douglas and associates.

My criticism aside, congratulations to you and Julia Baxter. Many more such are needed.

In solidarity and for socialism

Jock Barnes  
Auckland

## "Morale shattered" on ferries

I RECENTLY read your paper, which was left on the ferry by a passenger. The article by John Rees [Why Union Leaders Sell Out] was an eye-opener for me.

I work as a steward on the ferries, and during the negotiations has year we voted unanimously to take strike action, to stop our leave being taken and to stop the casualisation of the catering department.

The union officials never, ever contemplated a strike! even when Railways lost the lockout argument in the Employment Court. They never pressed home the tactical

advantage to the union.

We lost our annual leave, and now have casuals coming and going at railways pleasure. The morale of the stewards has been shattered. We were willing and keen to fight last year, but the leadership has wrecked the militancy of the rank and file.

Our officials are experts at blaming the Employment Contracts Act as a reason for not taking action, yet we could have legally struck last year. What makes me despair is whoever gets elected as an official, even if they were militant rank and file, soon become the

same as the rest of the officials. How can workers defeat the employers when we have to fight our officials first?

A steward gets \$36,000 a year, but our officials get \$58,000 and a car. When we get up at a meeting and move that something be done about our wages they tell us not to rock the boat.

I for one wish we had never amalgamated with the seamen as whenever there is a de-manning argument its the catering department who get the chop.

Keep up the good work.

Ferry Steward

# Ka whawhai tonu matou, ake, ake, ake!

## The struggle goes on...

**THE OCCUPATION OF** Wanganui's Moutoa Gardens by Whanganui Maori has been a powerful symbol of the resurgence in the struggle for mana whenua. The 79-day occupation at Pakaitore marae has reinvigorated other struggles around the country, in particular the occupation by Te Roopu a Te Pohutu of Rotowhio marae at Whakarewarewa in Rotorua which is now entering its seventh week.

In the last few months the upsurge in Maori struggle has expressed itself in the occupation of Coalcorp land at Huntly by the Te Whaawhaakia hapu, the occupations of the former Tamaki Girls' College in Auckland and the former Takahue school near Kaitaia, the occupation of the Court House at Patea and the occupation of the Waikato University marae by Te Toitutanga. These occupations have been along time in the making reflecting the growing anger, frustration and desperation at the lack of real options available to Maori for the resolutions of their grievances.

We've seen glimpses of this anger with the attempted chain-sawing of the pine tree on One Tree Hill on 28 October the anniversary of the 1835 declaration of Independence. We've also seen the beheading of the statue of John Ballance at Moutoa Gardens and the explosion of anger at Waitangi earlier this year.

This upsurge in mass action has done more for the Maori struggle than years of talk.

## Labour's approach to Treaty claims

WHEN THE fourth Labour Government was elected in 1984, it had to respond not only to a prolonged economic crisis, but also to a rising level of Maori struggle which had rapidly gathered momentum throughout the 1970s.

The growing anger amongst Maori arose because of:

- the continual theft of Maori land;

- the denial of tino rangatiratanga as expressed in Te Tiriti o Waitangi;

- the widening economic and social gap between Maori and Pakeha; and

- the hostility of the state to the cultures and language of Maori.

This fuelled a challenge that went to the very heart of the system.

### Land rights

The 1975 Land March on Parliament, the occupation of Takaparawha (Bastion Point) by the Orakei hapu of Ngati Whatua and the Raglan Gulf Course by Tainui Awhiro combined with frequent and widespread protest marches and



Rotorua march against the fiscal envelope

## Waitangi Tribunal sidelined

demonstration (particularly at Waitangi) to reveal the intensity of the struggle.

### Waitangi tribunal

Labour attempted to appease the rising tide of Maori discontent in two major ways: Firstly, the government extended jurisdiction of the Waitangi Tribunal making it retrospective to 1840. Previously Muldoon had restricted the tribunal powers to those claims after 1975!

The prestige and the wealth that went with such privileged positions inevitably meant that these leaders settled for resolutions that the state could easily accommodate.

It also meant that a Maori elite became increasingly removed from the concerns and the vitality of the flax roots Maori struggle. Indeed, negotiations behind closed doors meant that these 'leaders' were not accountable for their secret wheeling and dealing.

It quickly became apparent that the tribunal was a body without 'teeth'. It could only make recommendations on particular claims.

Governments were under no obligation to act on the findings of the tribunal. This meant that Maori were left with no real way of getting redress on outstanding claims. This fostered a sense of anger and resentment.

Anger and resentment at this lack of democracy and accountability has been a major component in the latest upturn in Maori struggle following the Sealords deal.

### Maori elite

Secondly, by co-opting Maori leaders within the structures of the state, Labour hoped to give the illusion of "consultative" relationship between tangata whenua and the state.

It forced these Maori leaders to straddle the gulf between pushing the Maori struggle forward and maintaining the existing state of affairs.

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THE GOVERNMENT is trying to force Maori into accepting their rip-off Fiscal Envelope deal by giving them no alternative way of settling their grievances.

This opens the door for the government to negotiate with powerful tribal entrepreneurs who have no mandate to make such deals by offering them more money.

**The government has done this by cutting money from the budget of the Waitangi Tribunal while increasing the funding for its own treaty negotiators.**

**The Tribunal should be given an immediate increase in funding so it can begin to clear the backlog of claims.**

But we shouldn't have illusions in the Tribunal because claims cannot be truly settled in a system which puts private ownership and control by the minority above justice.

This year's budget of \$3.4 million only allows 38 weeks of hearing. Already, the Tribunal has effectively run out of cash calling a halt to new claims. With hundreds of claims before them, the Tribunal is struggling to make ends meet. Only two of the tribunal's 16 members are full-time. With increasingly angry claimants, the government is forcing the Tribunal into a position where some claims may have to be funded at the expense of others. This is criminal!

**In the upcoming budget, it is expected that the Office of Treaty Settlements, the Crown's official negotiator Doug Graham, will receive annual funding of over \$7.5 million.**

While the government pours more resources into direct negotiations the Tribunal has been sidelined, grappling with in excess of 500 claims.

## Tino rangatiratanga: where to from here?

IT IS obvious that a full resolution of claims must be guided by the principle of human justice not profit. However, the reality is that any attempt to come up with a genuine framework to settle Maori grievances repeatedly comes up against the limits of capitalist society.

Real tino rangatiratanga and just settlement of treaty claims cannot be reached in a system which is only concerned about profits and maintaining the existing ownership of property and resources by the rich.

### Real power

This is because the government is restricted in how far it can go with a treaty settlement because in capitalist society the real power to grant the return of Maori land and tino rangatiratanga doesn't lie in parliament. Rather, the key decisions about the ownership and allocation of resources in Aotearoa are made outside the government system behind the closed doors of corporate boardrooms, by business owners and executives.

These decisions are not made democratically. They are made solely on the basis of what is profitable for business, not on the principle of human need or justice.

**No Justice for Nats**

This is why, despite what the Nats say, justice isn't their real concern. They are

## Fiscal envelope rip-off

WHEN THE Nats came to power in 1990, it extended many of the reforms of the fourth Labour government. It too, set out to secure a high level of business investment in the N.Z. economy. For the government, Maori treaty claims created a climate of uncertainty for investors because the ownership of a number of key resources was in doubt.

The Nats have attempted to end this uncertainty by negotiating a full and final settlement of all Treaty of Waitangi claims with minimal cost. Like the Labour government, they began negotiations with a handful of corporate warriors and tribal elite who had no man-

gains for Maori will not come through the elections but through struggle.

### Profits rule

It is also true that any parliamentary decision on settling claims is restricted by their dependence on the profitability of business. This is because it is through the taxation of the wages and salaries earned in the private sector that the government is able to finance its policies.

This means, those in power, whether politicians or bureaucrats, have a vested interest in ensuring that Aotearoa is suitable for business investment.

If they don't they have to be prepared to face the disastrous economic and political consequences of businesses taking their money out of Aotearoa and investing it overseas.

Any government treaty proposal can't change this. So right from the start the vast majority of resources are out of the settlement process.

### No Justice for Nats

This is why, despite what the Nats say, justice isn't their real concern. They are

### Do Pakeha workers benefit from racism?

RACISM WORKS to the disadvantage of Pakeha workers in both the short and the long term. In the short term, by dividing workers and the trade unions that represent them, all workers have far more difficulty in improving wages and conditions of employment.

Studies show that racism tends to lower every worker's wage. It was found that in those states of the U.S. where the wages of blacks fell furthest behind white wages, all workers tended to have low wages. In those states where black and white wages are closer, the wages of all workers are much higher than in other states.

In Aotearoa, racism may lead Pakeha workers to be paid on average more than Maori—but because it results in dividing the bargaining power of workers, Pakeha workers do not benefit economically from Maori oppression. This is because racism keeps capitalism going because workers turn on each other, rather than against the bosses.

So Pakeha workers have as much interest as Maori workers in destroying this racist system. The success of the struggle for Maori liberation depends on building unity of Maori and Pakeha.

**The unity of Pakeha and Maori workers has to be fought for.**

whanau.

Tino rangatiratanga for all Maori will only become a reality when the whole system that puts profit before people is transformed and replaced with a radically democratic socialist system in which the whole economy is geared up for human need, not greed.

This extension of democracy will mean that the key decisions on the production, distribution and ownership of resources will be made by all ordinary Maori workers not the powerful corporate warriors.

On their own Maori workers, beneficiaries and their whanau don't have the capacity to fundamentally change society. We only make up a relatively small proportion of the population.

It requires Maori and Pakeha workers and other oppressed groups to link together and seize control of the economy and run it for their own needs not profit.

**There can be no Maori liberation without socialism! There can be socialism without Maori Liberation!**

## Socialism

Capitalism is a system of exploitation which generates inequality, crisis and war.

Although workers create society's wealth, it is controlled by the ruling class for its own selfish ends.

Socialism can only be built when the working class takes control of social wealth and democratically plans its production and distribution to meet human needs, not private profits. This will eliminate all class divisions in society.

Stalinist countries such as China and Cuba, just like the former Soviet Union and the Eastern bloc, have nothing to do with socialism. They are state capitalist. We support the struggles of workers against every dictatorial stalinist ruling class.

## Revolution not reformism

The present system cannot be reformed to end exploitation and oppression, contrary to what Alliance, Labour and union leaders claim. It must be overthrown by the working class.

Capitalism's parliament, army, police and judiciary protect the ruling class. These institutions cannot be taken over and used by the working class.



## where we stand

To pave the way to socialism the working class needs a new kind of state - a democratic workers state based on workers councils and workers militia.

### Internationalism

Workers in every country are exploited by capitalism, so the struggle for socialism is global.

We campaign for solidarity with workers in other countries. We fight racism and imperialism. We oppose all immigration controls. We support all genuine national liberation struggles.

We are internationalists because socialism depends on spreading working class revolutions around the world.

### Liberation from oppression

We fight for democratic rights. We oppose the oppression of women, Maori, Pacific Islanders, lesbians and gays.

All forms of oppression are used to divide the working class.

We support the right

of all oppressed groups to organise for their own defence. Their liberation is essential to socialist revolution and impossible without it.

### Tino rangatiratanga

We support the struggle for Maori self determination.

The government's approach to Treaty claims has benefited a Maori elite while doing little for working class Maori.

Tino rangatiratanga cannot be achieved within capitalism. It will only become a reality with the establishment of a workers state.

### Revolutionary party

To achieve socialism the most militant sections of the working class have to be organised into a mass revolutionary socialist party.

We are in the early stages of building such a party through involvement in the day-to-day struggles of workers and the oppressed.

The Socialist Workers Organisation must grow in size and influence to provide leadership in the struggle for working class self-emancipation.

We need to revitalise the unions with a rank-and-file movement.

If you like our ideas and want to fight for socialism, then join us.

## socialist activity

### Sales steady

PAPER SALES and SWO membership have remained steady around the country.

Waikato Branch had very good results on door-to-door sales in Huntly, with 41 papers being sold by 4 comrades.

In Auckland 8 papers were sold outside a factory as workers arrived for an early morning shift.

Christchurch Branch sold 8 papers in a shopping centre that hadn't been tried before.

## SOCIALIST WORKER \$8,000 APPEAL

The *Socialist Worker* finance appeal for \$8,000 will start with the next issue (June 5).

We need your donations to meet the gap between sales revenue and production costs.

Please give generously to help the socialist press.

Send donations to Box 8851, Auckland.

## SWO branch meetings - all welcome

AUCKLAND 7.30 pm every Tuesday at the Socialist Centre, 86 Princes St, Onehunga. Phone 634 3984.

- May 23 Who benefits from the Americas Cup?
- May 30 What does sovereignty mean?

June 6 Manufacturing Consent - the medias lies. Paper sales Every Saturday, meet at the Socialist Centre at 10am.

WAIKATO 7pm every second Wednesday. Phone Ross in Hamilton 847 6302 or Karl in Huntly 828 9471

- May 24 Why is the SWO different?
- June 7 Why we oppose ACT.

TIMBERLANDS 7pm every second Tuesday at Apumoana marae, Tarawera Rd. Phone Bernie 345 9853 or Martial 357 4536 in Rotorua.

- Next meeting May 30.

WELLINGTON 7.30pm every second Monday at People's Resource Centre, 2 Luke Lane (off Te Aro Park). Phone Gordon 387 7380.

- May 29 Are the unions dead?

Paper sales 12 noon to 1.30pm every Thursday at Manners Mall.

CHRISTCHURCH 7.30pm every second Sunday at the WEA, 59 Gloucester St. Phone Roy 384 4681.

- June 4 Unemployment in the 1930's depression?
- June 18 Is socialism relevant to today's world?
- June 18 Why is the working class the key to building socialism?

DUNEDIN 7.30pm every Thursday at the Clubs & Societies Building, 84 Albany St. Phone Brian or Laurel 473 6047.

- May 25 The environmental crisis - Causes and solutions.

June 1 It's time to re-build the unions.

OTHER AREAS The Socialist Workers Organisation also has members and supporters in North Shore, Napier, Kawerau, Raglan, Palmerston North, Timaru and the West Coast. They can be contacted through the Socialist Centre in Auckland (09) 634 3984.

## join the socialists

- I want to join the Socialist Workers Organisation
- I want more information about membership

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

Phone \_\_\_\_\_

Union/campus \_\_\_\_\_

Send to: SWO, PO Box 8851, Auckland

"Philosophers have merely interpreted the world. The point is to change it." — Karl Marx

# Is the steam running out of the recovery?

ACCORDING TO the Employers' Federation "despite continued declines in business confidence of late, indications are that the economy is in for a 'soft landing'".

Most economists agree with this. They recognize that the current economic recovery, which commenced in late 1991, is now starting to run out of steam. But they are confident that "growth of around 3-4% is likely to be sustained over the medium term".

This is because monetarist policies have ended the 'boom-bust' economic cycles New Zealand has experienced in the past".

Low inflation, the anti-union ECA, and tax cuts for the rich, have ensured that the economy will continue to grow.

## Strong recovery

The current recovery is clearly stronger than the earlier recoveries which took place in the late 1970s and mid 1980s. Growth was 6.2% during 1994 and 4.9% for 1993. Unemployment has fallen – although this is due to an increase in part-time employment. Full-time employment actually declined by 5% from 1990-1994.

Does all this mean that Birch is right? Will the economy grow by 3-4% until the year 2010?

The short answer is no. There will be another recession. Every recovery in New Zealand's history has eventually been followed by a recession. It is difficult to predict when that will happen.

It is possible that the economy may continue to grow over the next 1-2 years. But it is clear that the economy will not just keep growing by 3-4% year after year. A serious recession is likely to occur sometime during the second half of the 1990s. And when the economy does go down, it will not be a 'soft-landing'.

Right-wing commentators argue that NZ experienced its last recession from 1990-1991. That was the end of the short pain. Now 'we' have the long term gain.

■ Brian Roper

There are two major problems with this view.

First, the recovery has only benefited the wealthy capitalist minority which really runs this country. The rest of us are actually having to survive on lower incomes.

Second, it is false to see 1992 as representing an historical turning point. The real turning point came with the world recession in 1974. That represented the collapse of the post-war economic boom and the onset of a prolonged economic crisis.

Recoveries do occur during such crises. The most significant have been the 1983-85 and 1992-95 recoveries. But these are not enough to offset the deep recessions since 1973.

From 1974-95 the average rate of growth has been slightly less than 1% per year. That compares to 4.5% for 1945-73.

The major reason for this stagnation and rising unemployment is the declining profitability of business. The current recovery has been fuelled by a short-term rise in profitability due to the ECA and other anti-working class policies.

But the underlying level of profitability is still lower than it was during the 1950s and '60s. This means that another recession is inevitable.

## Attacks on workers

During the 1980s we were constantly told that we had to tighten our belts to get the economy right. When the economy did recover in the 1990s they told us to keep our belts tightened so as not to endanger the recovery with 'inflationary' wage claims.

And guess who will be asked first to tighten their belts when the recovery runs out of steam? You got it – us. As soon as the economy starts to slow down the Nats, bosses, and the capitalist media will bombard us with demands for wage cuts, more user pays, more tax cuts for business.

Under capitalism 'economic conditions' are never right for wage increases. The system is based on the exploitation of workers. Workers get nothing unless they organize in unions and fight for it.

# We owe it to Grandad

"Buy a socialist paper mate?"

"No, I'll be right, thanks. I'm Labour".

"What, after all that

Rogernomics and stuff! The GST and the Post Offices closing..."

"Yeah, I know all that, but they might be a bit better next time. Besides, my family has always been Labour. My Dad is and so was my Grandad."

I'D BE QUITE rich if I had a dollar for every time I've had that sort of discussion. No doubt about it, despite all the shit they've dished out to workers over the years there is still a big reserve of loyalty to the Labour Party.

And more often than not, it goes right back to grandad. Tell you the truth, I used to think sometimes that if there hadn't been so many gullible grandads roaring around then maybe Labour wouldn't be where it is now.

But that's wrong. I found a better reason for Labour loyalty the other day, in the back of an old second hand poetry book. It wasn't the book itself, it was the folded cardboard someone had used to mark their place.

Christchurch South Election, it said on the front. Under that a photo of a bloke with a big mustache and a funny looking collar. E.J. Howard, Labour's selected candidate. No date but it looked really old.

On the other side was a list of the party's demands:

- nationalization of the medical service and free medical attention;
- free, secular and compulsory education from the kindergarten to the university;
- the extension of public ownership of national utilities;

■ where national ownership of an industry is affected, all labour in such industry and at least half the board of control in each case shall be appointed by the union or the unions affected;

■ graduated income tax with corresponding reduction of indirect taxation for the purpose of removing the present burdens on family incomes;

■ equal pay for both sexes;

■ extension of the pension scheme to cover all incapacitated citizens, and increased rates of pensions...

All of this and more was listed under the main heading at the top - "Objective - the socialization

of the means of production, distribution and exchange". That's the workers programme that Grandad supported and that's why he drummed 'vote labour' into his kids

So, where are the takers today? If you put that programme up at the CTU conference Ken Douglas would tell you to grow up and stop dreaming. If you made those sorts of noises in the Alliance you would get sat on smartly by Jim Anderton, just like former housing spokesperson Len Richards was.

And if you fronted these ideas with the Labour Party of today you can bet that the leaders wouldn't even hear you at all, because the dollars of big capitalist investment are ringing so loudly in their ears.

But just because Labour has dropped them, that doesn't mean the socialist ideas are no good. We are still fighting health cuts and education fees and for equal pay. While we are doing that lets revive the call for the socialization of the means of production as well.

We owe it to Grandad.



## SOCIALIST QUIZ

WHICH WELL KNOWN trade union official recently made the following comment in a speech?

"No amount of industrial action will advance the interests of the working class."

The person providing the winning answer will be sent a portrait.

# Women and the revolutionary tradition

UNLIKE THE WARS waged by one ruling class against another, class struggle has never been an exclusively male affair.

Women have been part of revolts, riots and revolutions in past class societies, and in workers' struggles against capitalism in modern times. Marxism comes out of this tradition of class struggle, and the link between women and revolution is not new.

## Women and revolution

IN THE FRENCH Revolution of 1789, women played a crucial role in riots and demonstrations, forcing the revolution forward despite the reluctance of moderate leaders. They took part in the republican movement that led to the abolition of monarchy and the rule of the radical Jacobin party, even though the Jacobins were unsympathetic to women's demands.

### Class divisions

But women in radical groups and clubs such as the Club of Revolutionary Republican Women were well aware of class and political divisions among women as well as men, and were prepared to attack aristocratic women and supporters of the moderate party physically as well as in words.

Despite the bitter defeat women suffered in this revolution—the downfall of the Jacobins did not improve women's position, it made it a great deal worse.

### Revolutionary tradition

The tradition of revolutionary action by women did not die, but reappeared in Paris in the 1848 revolution, when the working class first appeared as a separate political force in a revolutionary situation, and during the Paris Commune of 1871, when thousands of women died on the barricades to defend a workers' government.

Meanwhile, the Indus-

trial Revolution had transformed working-class life in many parts of Europe.

Women were becoming involved in the new movements of the industrial working class: they joined and formed unions, went on strike, and took part in industrial protests.

But the rise of modern industry often set men and women against each other, as employers tried to use women as cheap labour to undermine men's traditional skills and organisations, while men tried to exclude women from many skilled trades.

Within the working-class movement there were many reactionary ideas about women, the worst perhaps being among the followers of Proudhon in France, who said, 'Woman must be housewife or whore,' and wanted to exclude women from the workforce altogether.

### Reformism

By 1850, the still young socialist movement was beginning to divide on the question of women, and on the question of class struggle too.

The followers of Proudhon believed in small property and gradual economic reforms; the Owenites turned to philanthropy and experimental communities; and as trade unions became more stable and permanent many of their leaders wanted to co-operate with capitalism instead of opposing it.



## Women's liberation and socialism

SINCE THE DAYS of Marx and Engels' revolutionary socialists in the Marxist tradition have tried to keep the link between socialist revolution and women's liberation, despite the hostility of other tendencies in the labour movement and the reluctance of many men in the revolutionary movement itself.

It has been at the highest points of class struggle, when the most working-class people have been involved, that the link has been strongest. But the most important is the Russian Revolution of 1917, because this did succeed, though only for a few years, in creating a genuine workers' state.

In Russia, working women's struggles were sometimes ahead of socialist theory from the start. Even before the first mass strike wave of 1905-7, women were a substantial part of the new industrial labour force and had begun to take strike action for maternity rights, time off for breast-feeding and laundry days, the end of sexual abuse by management, and improved pay and conditions.

During the early years of the First World War, women organised to fight falling wages and factory layoffs. They formed unions of domestic servants, soldiers' wives, laundry workers and bakery workers, as well as the older textile and manufacturing unions.

### Class Struggle

Leading members of the Bolshevik Party such as Alexandra Kollontai, Nadezhda Krupskaya, Inessa Armand and Klavdia Nikolaieva (a typesetter who had joined the Bolsheviks as

a girl of 14 during the 1905 revolution) took part in women's struggles and urged women to join the party. For a time in 1914 (until it was raided by the police) and again in 1917, they published a paper for women, *Rabotnitsa* or *Woman Worker*.

They argued that working women could not and should not join aristocratic and middle-class feminists in the women's movement (who, like most of the Suffragettes in England, came out in full support of the 1914 war). They argued that working women should fight for and with their own class.

### October 1917

Women workers played an important part in the two revolutions of 1917, while aristocratic and middle-class feminists were bitterly opposed to revolution, especially the workers' revolution of October.

The newly-born Soviet government of October 1917 soon took steps to carry out the legal emancipation of women. Divorce, abortion and homosexuality were legalised, and the state took responsibility for the welfare of mothers and children.

But the Bolsheviks recognised that legal emancipation was only the first step to women's liberation. Without far-reaching changes in social and economic conditions, women could not obtain the freedom that the law promised them. 'Women's Departments' were set up in all areas to bring women together in order to actively change things.

State provision for women and children became a reality, with mater-

nity homes, nurseries and schools for all.

### Stalinism

But by 1929, power in Russia had passed into the hands of a new ruling class headed by Stalin, hostile to women's liberation and determined to do away with all traces of workers' power.

The Women's Departments were closed down, and the progressive legislation of the 1917 revolution bit by bit reversed.

Many people continued to believe that Russia was still socialist, despite an increasingly authoritarian regime; they had to pretend that women were liberated in Russia because they drove tractors or mined coal. But to the few critics of the retreat from socialism in Russia, the reversal of policies on women and the family was one of the most obvious signs of the betrayal of the revolution.

Leon Trotsky, who was thrown out of Russia in 1929 for opposing the rise of the new authoritarian state, regarded the question of the family as crucial, and in his book, *The Revolution Betrayed*, denounced the new family policies of Stalin's regime.

**IT IS THE REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST TRADITION THAT WOMEN'S LIBERATION GOES HAND-IN-HAND WITH WORKERS' POWER WHICH WE WANT TO REBUILD NOW. WE REJECT ALL THE OTHER, ANTI-WOMEN TRADITIONS THAT HAVE EXISTED IN THE LABOUR MOVEMENT, AND THE IDEA THAT WOMEN'S LIBERATION CAN COME ABOUT BY OTHER MEANS. WE WANT, SOME DAY, TO BE ABLE TO CARRY ON FROM WHERE THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION WAS FORCED TO STOP.**

# 1939-1945: THE THIEVES FALL OUT

by BARRY BROWN

THE 50TH anniversary of the Second World War is everywhere, in magazines and newspapers. On the television TV1 is running its six-part documentary series, **New Zealand at War** (Tuesdays, 8.30pm) and in the cinemas Gaylene Preston's marvellous documentary account of New Zealand women during the war period, **War Stories**, has just opened.

WWII was the most brutal and bloody conflict in human history and the first truly global war. And yet the history of the war is shrouded in lies.

**The Politics of War**, by Gabriel Kolko, first published in 1969, is a fascinating book showing that imperial rivalries for markets and dominance were at the real heart of the war. The democratic pretensions of Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill to be fighting a war against fascism are revealed as mere rhetoric which disguised the real intent of ruthless competition to secure their economic and political interests.

Kolko shows that war is not just about which army has the superior weaponry but is intermeshed in politics and economics.



Hanging blackout curtains, NZ At War (TV1)

The conflicts embedded in the old pre-war social order were brought to fruition as class struggles tore apart Italy, Greece, France, China and Eastern Europe in fierce or disguised civil wars.

The one thing that united American and British aims for the post-war world was the fear both of Russian expansionism and the risings of the

workers and peasants who had suffered the dislocations of war. In France, Italy, Belgium, Holland and Greece the Resistance movements against the Nazis were treated to the most barbaric repression by Allied forces.

It was a prelude to the struggles and wars that have engulfed the world since.

## COPS ON TELEVISION

TVNZ recently took it upon itself to ban a three-part episode of **Cracker** dealing with a violent rape. The *Listener* obtained a tape of the programme and showed it to a cross-section of eight viewers. All but one were adamant that the programme should be shown. The one who supported TVNZ was a police superintendent whose principal objection was to the way in which the police were portrayed.

South Pacific Pictures, the producers of the local current cop show **Plainclothes** (TV1, Wednesdays, 8.30pm) will tell you the difference between an episode of their insipid series and an episode of the acclaimed **Cracker** is \$400,000. It's not.

The difference is that **Cracker** is the product of a driven, Tory-loathing Liverpool socialist, while **Plainclothes** (like its predecessor, **Shark in the Park**) comes to us by way of NZ Police public relations.

## ROB ROY AND THE TREATY OF WAITANGI

ROB ROY, Scotland's answer to Robin Hood, opened everywhere for the school holidays. The historical character on which it's based, Rob Roy McGregor, was a member of an outlaw clan of highland cattle thieves, active between the period of the Great Famine of the 1690s, where in some areas half to a third of the Scots population died or emigrated to America, and the Jacobite Rising of 1715, when highland clans rose up



Liam Neeson as Rob Roy

(Protestant) English rule.

The movie portrays Rob Roy as the honest (more or less) and honourable head of a small, impoverished clan with a small land-holding and no time for the great Earls. He borrows a thousand pounds at 25% interest from the rent-collecting Lord Graham, Earl of Montrose, intending to purchase cattle, drive them to Carlisle, double his money and provide for the clan. He is duped by an aristocratic English villain and (spectacularly) goes on the run. Eventually, with the help of Montrose's major land-owning rival, the Earl

of Argyle, honour and justice is achieved.

In fact it's all about honour, but on the way it's savage and exciting and has rather bracing dialogue ("Why don't Calvinists approve of shaggin' standin' up?", asks Rob before answering his own question: "Cause it might lead to dancin'!").

What's more, it features the great-great-grandfather of our own aristocratic Minister of Fiscal

Envelopes, Douglas Arthur Montrose

Graham - a direct descendant of Lord Graham, the Earl of Montrose.

Doug Graham is obviously bred to the task of sorting out land claims for the state, as the Earls of Montrose were major rack-renting landlords who were subsequently up to their bloody necks in the clearance of small tenants from the highlands and the replacement of the crofters with large run-holders. O, come back and take your great broadsword down to Parliament, Rob Roy McGregor!

### CARTER HOLT HARVEY

#### Huge Profit Rise But 2% For Workers

CARTER HOLT Harvey timber workers held a 24-hour strike on May 17 and picketed CHH Forests Division sites at Putaruru, Marton, Tokoroa and Taupo, as well as the company's head office in Auckland.

CHH employment contracts are due for renewal and the workers want a decent wage increase. CHH is "offering" around 2 percent on contracts of varying lengths. It is also trying to claw back some existing conditions like shift allowance and overtime rates at some plants.

At the Te Papapa paper mill the company is trying to push a two-year contract onto the workers with a 2 percent increase for the first year and 2.5 for the second. The company has cut the production bonus at the mill by 55 cents an hour, which it could do under the previous contract, even though the mill is making big profits.

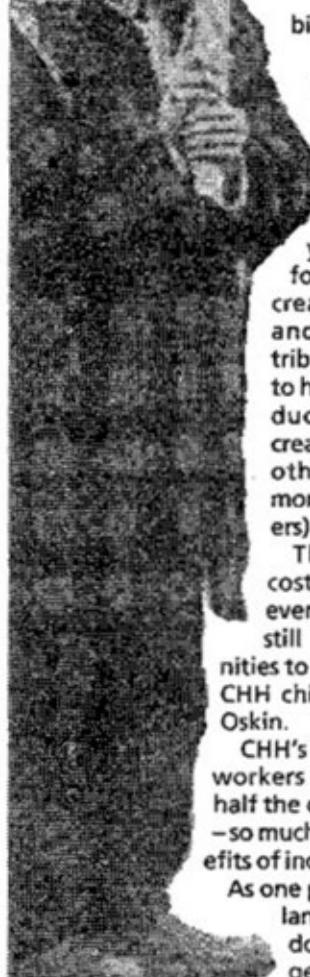
CHH recently announced a clear profit of \$445 million for the year to March, an increase of 36.9% over the previous year. Sales revenue for the year only increased by 10 percent and CHH bosses attribute the record profit to higher pulp prices, reduced costs and increased productivity (in other words getting more out of fewer workers).

The company says costs must be reduced even further. There are still "plenty of opportunities to do so," according to CHH chief executive David Oskin.

CHH's wage offers to its workers amount to around half the official inflation rate — so much for sharing the benefits of increased productivity!

As one placard on the Auckland picket stated "We do all the work. CHH gets all the perks".

TOOT FOR SUPPORT  
CHH OFFER 2%  
WE DESERVE 5%



### Police Evict Waterfront Picket

PICKETERS WERE thrown off Gisborne wharf by police after being served with eviction notices by the Gisborne Port company.

The eviction, on May 15, arose from a dispute between Gisborne wharfies and Tauranga-based International Stevedores.

The company wanted workers to do 12-hour shifts with only two half-hour breaks when loading a Korean log ship.

The Gisborne workers have previously performed 12-hour shifts, but with three half-hour breaks. They are refusing to drop one break for safety reasons.

International Stevedores had brought in other labour from Tauranga to do the work, and the picketers linked arms on the wharf in an effort to prevent the tug and pilot boat from bringing in the Korean ship.

The wharfies union is concerned that if International Stevedores gets away with cutting one break in Gisborne then other stevedoring companies around the country will try to do the same. Watersiders from as far away as Bluff had gone to Gisborne for the picket.

A second picket was planned for May 19 when another log ship was due at the port.

### Hawkes Bay polytech students protest fees

HAWKES BAY students erected a tent in the polytech grounds on May 2 to highlight what students can afford to rent on the student accommodation allowance.

The tent protest was part of the students national week of action against user pays education.

### AIR NZ CABIN CREW TO STRIKE

DOMESTIC CABIN crews employed by Air NZ are to take strike action over 3 days at the end of the month.

The rolling strikes will be followed with a "higher level" of industrial action if their pay dispute with Air NZ is not settled. Cabin crews on domestic services are seeking pay parity with their colleagues on international flights.

24-hour strikes will take place in Christchurch on May 31, Wellington on June 1 and Auckland on June 2. Their union has agreed to staff being rostered to fill in gaps during the strikes, so as not to inconvenience the public. The danger is that this may also lessen the impact on the company.

If they take firm action and go out to the public for support cabin crews will find, as teachers, nurses and other sectors of the workforce have done, a tremendous amount of public support.

It should not go unnoticed that AIR NZ is a sponsor of "Team NZ" in the Americas Cup.

### Bank Workers Strike

COUNTRYWIDE BANK staff in Auckland went on strike on May 16, after a contract deal had been endorsed at stopwork meetings.

Strike action had been scheduled for the day after bank staff had rejected company demands for clawbacks to penal and overtime rates.

The strike, which took union officials by surprise, closed 6 of the Bank's 27 Auckland branches and others in Wellington and Palmerston North.

### WHERE'S THE ACTION?

ON 2 September 1994, CTU president Ken Douglas advocated a combined trade union campaign to fight for big pay rises.

He said unions should break the law if necessary to obtain the contracts they want.

But no observable practical steps have yet been taken by the head of the Council of Trade Unions to mobilise workers around a united pay campaign.

Dating from his speech, there's still

**no action from Ken after 249 days**

# Strong support for rent strike

Five hundred tenants and their supporters turned out to a public rally at Manukau City on May 8 to protest at the introduction of full market rents for state tenants from July 1.

The rally was initiated by the newly formed Mangere Housing Concern group and strongly supported by the State Housing Action Coalition (SHAC).

Len Richards, spokesperson for the Mangere Housing Concern and chairperson for the rally opened the meeting.

He welcomed participants to the rally, outlined the formation of the Mangere group, and invited tenants to sign up to become members of a tenants network as a step to becoming active in fighting the rent rises.

Peter Hughes of SHAC focused on the extremely serious issue of market rents and what SHAC felt was necessary to do to confront them. He pointed out that in the 4 years that SHAC had been fighting the governments housing policy, the real life hardship of tenants was simply not being considered by government politicians. Tenants all over the country had already given up their state houses as they saw no way to survive with the rising rents.

However Hughes stressed that this was no answer to tenants housing problems as they now overcrowding with friends and relations, filling caravan parks to overflowing

or simply living on the streets.

He called on all those tenants present at the rally to stay in their homes and join with SHAC members already on partial rent strike to strengthen the fightback against market rents.

Hughes stressed that time was short and that the government was already selling off the state housing asset. The latest announcements of HNZ leasing homes from the private sector landlords would speed up this process.

Hughes proposed a resolution of endorsement of SHAC's partial rent strike call and inviting new rent strikers to join from July 1. The resolution was passed overwhelmingly.

Labour and the Alliance speakers both condemned the government housing policies and pledged to return state rents to 25 percent of income and overturn the privatisation plans of National should either of them become government after the next election.

Alliance speaker Jim Anderton went further, stating that an Alliance government would embark on an ambitious state funded home building programme providing at least 1,000 homes a year to help relieve the serious housing crisis.

A large number of tenants and supporters then utilised the "open mike" forum of the rally.

Speaker after speaker slammed the government's



policies with many of them calling for support of SHAC's partial rent strike in the face of no real alternative to being able to afford the new rents. Others talked about the crisis in emergency housing that had arisen since the government market rent policies were introduced.

Some speakers expressed the view that the struggle should not be left to politicians and election time. Now was the time to get involved and fight for their homes.

Hundreds present at the rally signed the contact list to support a tenants network and more than 160 tenants filled in SHAC's leaflet inviting them to join the partial rent strike from July 1.

The rally clearly indicated the changing mood of state tenants throughout the country as they realise government policies have left them few options. Either they fight back as an organised group or they will eventually get forced out of their homes by unaffordable rents. Clearly a majority of those present at the Manukau rally have shown that they are preparing to fight back.

## University staff to strike

VICTORIA UNIVERSITY academic and general staff plan to strike for 24-hours on May 31.

University staff told Socialist Worker they've had no wage increase for over five years, during which time there has been an increase in workloads and in their cost of living.

Along with no pay rises, there have been no extra staff employed to cope with the increased work.

The workers said Victoria staff are about 60 percent unionised. Keen unionists have been trying hard to get all their sections in the union and there has been an increase in membership as a result of the dispute.

They question the priorities of university bosses who have spent a lot of money on building and improving the appearance of the university over the past couple of years, but nothing on wage increases.

The workers unions are asking for two year collective agreements for both sectors, starting from last January. Wage demands include cash payments and guaranteed pay rises at January 1, 1996 of 5 percent for general staff and 2.6 percent (average) for academic staff.

University management want individual contracts for academic staff and smaller wage increases.

The workers plan to picket their workplaces on the strike day, with leaflets and placards being co-ordinated at a central assembly point in Kelburn Parade.

The pickets will break at 12.00 noon for a meeting on the Hunter Lawn. At 12.30 pm they will resume pickets and end at 2 pm.

The unions say that pickets are not intended to stop other workers from going into the buildings, but will distribute leaflets explaining their dispute.

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# Why police attack protesters

70 AND 80 year olds are kicked to the ground and stomped on by burly young men in blue uniforms. A slightly built teenage girl is felled by crunching baton blows, her head cracking against the pavement as she falls, spilling blood down her face.

Two cops pull a protester out of a crowd in order to arrest him, then, as they walk him back behind the lines, they divert their path towards a TV cameraman and smash the protest-



er's head against the camera lens. These are just some of the scenes from a week of protest during the recent Asian Development Bank conference in Auckland.

Police leaders like to complain about the insufficient resources they have to deal with crime, but they found no difficulty in putting together a 600 strong contingent of cops to act as the private security force for Asia's banking elite.

The purpose of this massive police presence was to muzzle the bank's opponents, ensuring New Zealand's image amongst Asian financiers as a stable country with a tame low wage workforce was kept intact. Preventing crime was not even an issue.

When a conference delegate from Indonesia sexually assaulted a hotel worker the police refused to pursue the matter.

Meanwhile protesters on the outside were being bashed and arrested for nothing more than asserting their right to walk down a public street. Once again it was a case of one law for the rich and another for us. The brutal treatment meted out to those who dared to stand

up to the cops during the ADB protests shows that in a society based on exploitation, the violent arm of the state is never very far from the surface.

In a class divided society like ours, there is no neutral institution, every organisation has a side in the struggle between capital and labour.

The job of the police is to uphold the law, but the law is designed to protect the property and profits of the bosses, not the livelihood or rights of the vast majority. Anyone who has been down to a picket line would have seen this in action.

Cops turn up each morning to protect the scabs crossing the picket line. They'll regularly turn a blind eye to the bosses' attempts to run down picketers with their cars, but as soon as a striking worker even attempts to threaten a scab the cops will be in like a ton of bricks.

By concentrating wealth in the hands of a few, Capitalism throws up a society in which property rights are sacred and human rights are of only secondary importance.

The solution is to overthrow this rotten system

## Police revenge

"I NEVER believed the police would be capable of this" that was the response from one student after the police used brutal tactics to disperse the University students' annual pub crawl in Auckland.

The police action was the culmination of four days of confrontation between cops and students on the streets of Auckland during the Asian Development Bank conference.

Horrified shop assistants looked on as the normally fashionable High St was turned into a battleground between over 60 baton-wielding cops and nearly 300 chanting students.

20 people were arrested and one student was hospitalised with a broken wrist in the worst confrontation between police and Auckland students since the 1981 Springbok Tour.

Many of those arrested were picked out because of their leading roles in Wednesday's march on Aotea square. Amongst the students present, it was widely interpreted that the vicious tactics of the police were evidence of pent up frustration from the week's encounters with protesters.

"The cops are getting their revenge" commented one student "they're taking it all out on us."

and to replace it with a classless, socialist society. And without a class-based division of wealth who needs police?

Nevertheless, as New Zealand moves closer to the model of a low wage economy celebrated by the ADB bankers, we can expect to see more examples of police violence. With discontent amongst Maori reaching crisis point and the ranks of the underpaid and the unemployed swelling greater every day, it will

take an increasing level of forceful intervention by the Government and their hired thugs, the cops, to keep working class New Zealanders in their place.

The smug comment of one Asian banker overlooking the protests from the Aotea Centre sums it up: "These protests are good practice for the police, they'll need it."

Isn't it about time we dumped this rotten system?

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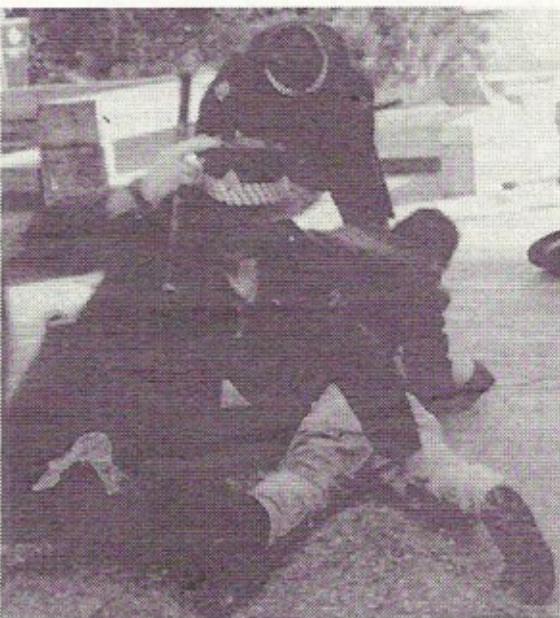
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Police arrest student on May 3